

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 117385
ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY AF/E:PGSMITH:IO/UNP:SESCUDERO
APPROVED BY AF:WESCHAUFEELE
AF:WBEDMONDSON (DRAFT)
AF/E:RSPOST (DRAFT)
AF/EP:RDUNCAN (DRAFT)
AF/S:DKEOGH (DRAFT)
IO/UNP:GHELLMAN(DRAFT)
UNA:JTEFFT(DRAFT)
S/P: MSPIEGEL (DRAFT)
S/S-O:SSTEINER

-----210209Z 117307 /73

O 210147Z MAY 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 117385

EXDIS; MAPUTO AND JOHANNESBURG FOR AMB. YOUNG'S PARTY

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, ZA, RH, WA, SF, US

SUBJECT:YOUR VISIT TO ZAMBIA -- BRIEFING PAPER

BACKGROUND

YOU WILL BE VISITING ZAMBIA AT A TIME WHEN:

-- PRESIDENT KAUNDA HAS CANCELLED A PLANNED VISIT TO THE
UNITED STATES, ORIGINALLY SCHEDULED FOR MAY 16-22,
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BECAUSE OF HIS CONCERN WITH THE SITUATIONS IN RHODESIA AND
NAMIBIA, AS WELL AS HIS PREOCCUPATION WITH MANAGING A
SHAKEUP OF THE ZAMBIAN GOVERNMENT AND PARTY LEADERSHIP.

-- TENSION BETWEEN RHODESIA AND ZAMBIA HAS HIT A NEW HIGH,
AS THE RESULT OF IAN SMITH'S THREAT OF A PRE-EMPTIVE STRIKE
AGAINST RHODESIAN NATIONALIST BASE CAMPS IN ZAMBIA,

KAUNDA'S PUBLIC RESPONSE (DECLARING THAT ZAMBIA "IS IN A STATE OF WAR WITH RHODESIA"), AND THE MAY 18 BORDER INCIDENTS.

-- KAUNDA HAS PUBLICLY WELCOMED BASING OF THE RHODESIA CONSULTATIVE GROUP IN LUSAKA, THOUGH SIMULTANEOUSLY REAFFIRMING HIS SUPPORT FOR CONTINUED ARMED STRUGGLE TO FORCE MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATIONS (KAUNDA BRIEFLY CONSIDERED

WITHDRAWING HIS SUPPORT FOR THE GROUP LAST WEEKEND AS A RESULT OF HIS ANGER WITH THE BRITISH OVER THE SMITH THREAT EPISODE).

ISSUES/TALKING POINTS

1. CANCELLATION OF KAUNDA VISIT TO THE U.S.

YOUR TALKING POINT:

-- I KNOW THAT PRESIDENT CARTER WAS PERSONALLY DISAPPOINTED NOT TO HAVE THE CHANCE TO MEET YOU IN WASHINGTON, BUT HE OF COURSE UNDERSTOOD THE PRESSING REASONS THAT LED YOU TO CANCEL YOUR TRIP.

2. SOUTHERN AFRICA.

IN HIS LAST MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR LOW ON MAY 5, PRESIDENT KAUNDA:

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-- SUPPORTED FORMAL U.S. PARTICIPATION IN RHODESIAN NEGOTIATIONS;

-- SAID HE BELIEVED THE PATRIOTIC FRONT COULD BE BROUGHT AROUND TO ACCEPT SUCH U.S. PARTICIPATION;

-- ENDORSED THE IDEA OF PRELIMINARY BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS TO BUILD MOMENTUM TOWARD A CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE;

-- STRONGLY CONCURRED IN LOW'S OBSERVATION THAT TRANSFORMATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY COULD NOT AWAIT SOLUTIONS IN NAMIBIA AND ZIMBABWE;

-- SAID HE THOUGHT ZAMBIA COULD BE HELPFUL IN BRINGING SWAPO AROUND TO CONSIDERING A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA, IF THE FIVE-POWER APPROACH SEEMED CLEARLY ON THE ROAD TO AN ACCEPTABLE RESULT;

-- SAID THAT "IF GOD IS WILLING AND PRESIDENT CARTER CONTINUES HIS MORAL APPROACH, THERE IS FOR THE FIRST TIME A REAL CHANCE FOR PROGRESS."

AT MAPUTO, ZAMBIA FOREIGN MINISTER MWALE'S SPEECH MADE CLEAR ZAMBIA'S CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR SWAPO AND CONVEYED A SENSE OF LINGERING MISTRUST OF WESTERN INITIATIVES. IT IS UNCLEAR HOW FULLY MWALE IS INFORMED ON KAUNDA'S THINKING, HOWEVER, AND WE ARE INCLINED TO ACCEPT KAUNDA'S OWN RECENT ENDORSEMENT OF OUR EFFORTS AS GENUINE, EVEN IF

QUALIFIED.

YOUR TALKING POINTS:

A. RHODESIA

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IN ADDITION TO A GENERAL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, YOU MAY WISH TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

-- I CANNOT STRESS TOO MUCH HOW DEEPLY PRESIDENT CARTER AND HIS ADMINISTRATION ARE COMMITTED TO HELPING FIND A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT.

-- AS YOU KNOW, WE TOLD SITH IN NO UNCERTAIN TERMS THAT HIS THREAT OF PRE-EMPTIVE STRIKES AGAINST ZAMBIA AND THE SO-CALLED HOT PURSUIT INTO BOTSWANA WERE DANGEROUS AND PROVOCATIVE. THESE MOVES COMPLICATE THE NEGOTIATING PICTURE TO THE POINT WHERE PROGRESS MAY BECOME IMPOSSIBLE.

-- I WANT TO EMPHASIZE TO YOU THAT WE ARE COOPERATING INTENSIVELY WITH THE BRITISH ON THE NEGOTIATING SIDE. WE APPRECIATE THE CENTRAL ROLE ZAMBIA HAS AS A FRONT LINE STATE, AND THE SACRIFICES THIS ENTAILS. WE WILL KEEP YOU FULLY INFORMED OF OUR ACTIONS.

-- AMBASSADOR LOW'S SELECTION AS THE SENIOR AMERICAN OFFICIAL TO WORK CLOSELY WITH MR. GRAHAM WAS NOT ACCIDENTAL, BUT BASED ON HIS UNDERSTANDING OF THE AREA AND THE RESPECT IN WHICH HE IS HELD IN WASHINGTON. WE ARE IMPRESSED WITH DR. OWEN'S VITALITY AND DEDICATION AND THE COMPETENCE WHICH MR. GRAHAM IS DEMONSTRATING.

B. NAMIBIA

YOU MAY WISH TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

-- THE US IS DEEPLY COMMITTED TO AN INTERNATIONALLY

ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION FOR NAMIBIA IN LINE WITH SECURITY

COUNCIL RESOLUTION 385.

-- THE CONTACT GROUP ENTERED INTO EXPLORATORY NEGOTIATIONS
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WITH SOUTH AFRICA TO BEGIN A PROCESS WHICH WE HOPE WILL
LEAD TO SUCH A RESULT.

-- AT MAPUTO, FOREIGN MINISTER MWALE EXPRESSED THE DOUBT
THAT ZAMBIA AND OTHER AFRICAN NATIONS APPARENTLY SHARE
ABOUT THE SINCERITY OF THAT EFFORT. I UNDERSTAND YOUR
POSITION, BUT I HOPE THAT IN TIME YOU MAY JUDGE OUR
SINCERITY BY THE RESULTS OF OUR EFFORTS.

3. U.S. AID TO ZAMBIA

IN HIS MAY 5 MEETING WITH PRESIDENT KAUNDA, AMBASSADOR
LOW EXPLAINED OUR RECENT AID EFFORT (\$27.1 MILLION SINCE
MID-1976, INCLUDING \$7.1 MILLION IN PL-480 COMMODITIES
AND \$20 MILLION IN THE FORM OF A COMMODITY IMPORT LOAN).
KAUNDA SHOWED OBVIOUS SATISFACTION WITH THE SIZE,
EFFECTIVENESS, AND SUCCESS OF THE PROGRAM, SAID THAT THE
U.S. APPROACH WAS CORRECT, AND EXPRESSED THE STRONG HOPE
THAT IT WOULD CONTINUE.

AT THE TIME, AMBASSADOR LOW DID NOT HAVE MUCH INFORMATION
ON THE PROSPECTS FOR FY 1978 AID. SINCE THEN, THE HOUSE
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE HAS APPROVED A BILL
AUTHORIZING \$100 MILLION FOR A SOUTHERN AFRICAN SPECIAL
REQUIREMENTS FUND, FROM WHICH AID COULD BE PROVIDED
TO ZAMBIA; THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE HAS
AUTHORIZED \$20 MILLION IN FY 78 SECURITY SUPPORTING
ASSISTANCE FOR ZAMBIA. ZAMBIA SHOULD ENCOUNTER NO
SIGNIFICANT PROBLEMS ON THE SENATE FLOOR. DURING HOUSE
FLOOR DEBATE, NOW SCHEDULED FOR MAY 24, CONGRESSMAN
CRANE INTENDS TO INTRODUCE AN AMENDMENT WHICH WOULD BAR
AID TO ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE, TANZANIA AND ZAMBIA.
THE ADMINISTRATION IS OF COURSE OPPOSING THE CRANE
AMENDMENT; ZAMBIA IS THE LEAST LIKELY TO REMAIN ON THIS
"BANNED LIST."

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APPROPRIATION ACTION WILL FOLLOW, BUT WE CANNOT YET

PREDICT THE OUTCOME.

YOUR TALKING POINTS:

-- I WAS GLAD TO HEAR THAT AMBASSADOR LOW HAD THE CHANCE TO DISCUSS OUR AID PROGRAM WITH YOU DURING YOUR MEETING ON MAY 5 AND THAT YOU ARE PLEASED WITH WHAT WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO DO SO FAR.

-- AUTHORIZING COMMITTEES IN BOTH THE HOUSE AND SENATE HAVE APPROVED SIGNIFICANT AID TO SOUTHERN AFRICA (INCLUDING ZAMBIA) IN FISCAL 1978. THE ADMINISTRATION SUPPORTS THIS CONGRESSIONAL ACTION.

-- I AM VETERAN OF ENOUGH LEGISLATIVE BATTLES NOT TO RISK A PREDICTION AT THIS POINT ON THE EXACT AMOUNTS THAT WILL FINALLY BE APPROPRIATED, BUT I THINK THAT THE PRINCIPLE IS ESTABLISHED, AND WE WILL BE ABLE TO WORK WITH CONGRESS TO CONTINUE THE SORT OF EFFECTIVE AID WE HAVE BEEN PROVIDING.

CHRISTOPHER

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